

TAB

HISTORY OF THE CPSU

- I. Revolutionary Movements in Russia
  - A. Rise of the working class in Russia
  - B. Revolutionary movement among the intellectuals
    - 1. NARODNIK SOCIALISM
    - 2. Rebel agitation
    - 3. NARODNAYA VOLYA
    - 4. Black Redistribution
    - 5. First revolutionary working class organizations
  - C. Marxian Theory and the Revolutionary Movement in Russia
    - 1. "Communist Manifesto"
    - 2. Origin of the Party
  - D. The Revolution of 1905
  - E. The pre-1917 Period
- II. The Revolution of March 1917
  - A. Summary of Events
  - B. Russian Political Parties
- III. The Revolution of November 1917
  - A. The Rise of the Bolsheviks
  - B. Revolution of November 1917
- IV. Civil War - 1918-1921 and Aftermath
- V. Rise of Stalin
- VI. The CPSU since the Death of Stalin

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## I. Revolutionary Movements in Russia

### A. Rise of the Working Class in Russia

The beginning of large-scale industry in Russia and the formation of a working class must be referred to the 18th century, although at that time the number of factories and mills was still extremely small. They were chiefly engaged in manufacturing military supplies for the government. That government was a landlords' government, but it had also close ties with merchant capital the development of which had at that time already begun. The workers employed in these factories were serfs, known as "possessional". They were legally bound to the factories. Later we find the appearance of factories employing free labor. These grew out of domestic craft industry and merchant capital. In 1825 (year of the December 1st uprising), the industrial workers in Russia numbered 210,000 (29,000 "possessional" laborers, 66,000 serfs employed in nobles' factories, 114,200 free laborers). The 1861 emancipation facilitated capitalist development; in 1860 there were 560,000 workers in Russia but by 1862 the number had increased to 870,000. (Author does not mention the Northern war contracts of 1861!)

### B. Revolutionary movement among the intellectuals

1. This movement began soon after the 1861 edict and took the form of NARODNIK SOCIALISM. This socialism was extremely vague and indefinite but eventually failed because the upper strata of the peasantry were more or less content with the reform of 1861 (Kulaks), while the vast bulk of the poor peasants were apathetic to its propaganda.

#### 2. Rebel Agitation

These individuals were followers of the famous anarchist BAKUNIN, whose influence on the Russian revolutionary movement was tremendous. The rebels declared that it was useless to appeal to the people with abstract, socialist propaganda, which they were unable to understand. The people, they argued, are practical and draw their revolutionary ideas only from the economic realities that surround them. Bakunin preached anarchist revolt; in the middle seventies attempts were made to carry on agitation among the masses with the purpose of arousing revolts based on local causes of discontent with the hope that such revolts would spontaneously develop into a general insurrection.

SECRET

It came to be realized that only a centralized and closely-knit revolutionary organization would be able to deal a mortal blow to Tsarism. This idea, which in Western Europe had been advocated by the Jacobins and the Blanquists, was adopted by TRACHEV, who advocated his views in the NABAT (The Alarm) a paper published outside of Russia. His recommended organization was formed in 1876, in the shape of ZEMLYAI VOLYA (Land and Freedom). A quarter of a century later Lenin admitted in his "What Is To Be Done" his "profound respect" for the organizers and leaders of Zemlyai Volya and recommended that their experience in organization should be taken as an example.

The chief aim of Zemlyai Volya was to lead the terrorist movement. At first their targets were "individual servitors of tsarism", but soon the terrorism acquired independent political significance. Eventually it became necessary to choose the mode of operation—comparatively futile agitation or terrorism with the definite goal of wresting political concession from the Government. These two currents of opinion resulted, after a bitter struggle, in the formal split of the organization after a congress held in VORONEZH in 1879.

3. The advocates of terrorism formed an independent organization known as NARODNAYA VOLYA (The People's Will). Their efforts were primarily directed against the Tsar. Attempt after attempt was made on his life (Alex II); finally killed, March 1, 1881, by a bomb thrown by the terrorist GRINSVETSKY. The police rounded up some of the most active terrorist organizers, executed them, and by 1884 the Narodnaya Volya organization was completely smashed.

4. Those who believed in concentrating on terrorism with the aim of wresting political control created a separate group known as CHERNY PERIDEL (Black Redistribution). This group, led by ALEXANDROV, AXELROD, VERA, ZASULICH, DEUTSCH, AND IGNATOV, having acquainted themselves with the working class movement of Western Europe, began gradually to incline towards Marxism. This evolution of views led to the formation of a new group (in September 1883,) known as the "Emancipation of Labor" group. The new organization was the first Marxian organization in Russia to express a Marxian opinion of capitalism, the village commune, the disintegration of semi-feudal economic forms, the growth of class antagonisms, and to point out the historical role of the proletariat. The group expressed itself in literary form, publishing a 4-volume work The Social-Democrat and several Russian translations of the works of Marx and Engels.

SECRET

5. First Revolutionary Working Class Organizations

a. In 1875 several workers' circles in Odessa transformed themselves into a complete organization known as the "South Russian Workers' League" led by Zaslavsky.

b. In 1878 a new organization appeared in St. Petersburg known as the "North Russian Workers' League". The leaders were Victor Otmorsky and Stepan Khalturin, both workers. The latter subsequently became a terrorist and was the organizer of the explosion in the Winter Palace.

Both groups believed that the working class should conduct a political struggle to win political freedom in order to facilitate the fight for socialism.

C. Marxian Theory and the Revolutionary Movement in Russia

1. Communist Manifesto, drawn up by Marx and Engels first appeared in 1848, on the eve of revolution in several European countries, and a few months prior to the June uprising of the Paris workers against the French bourgeois republic "The history of all hitherto existing society has resulted from a long process of development and from a series of revolutions in methods of production and exchange. That development is still continuing and is leading to the division of society more and more into two hostile camps, in two opposed classes - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These and other ideas were at first the possession of the small group of revolutionaries who formed the Communist League. In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association (First International) was organized.

As Lenin wrote: "Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism combined with French Revolutionary doctrines".

2. Origin of the Party

The "Emancipation of Labor" group, the first Social-Democratic group in Russia, had done much to spread Marxist propaganda in the country. Meanwhile there had grown up in Russia a substantial proletariat - especially in the industrialized urban areas. In the 1890's the strike movement gained impetus, especially in the Donets

Basin, Lodz, Warsaw, Riga, Yaroslavl, and St. Petersburg. So effective were these strikes that on June 2, 1897, Witte, Minister of Finance issued a law which fixed the legal working day for adult workers at 11½ hours. But the strikes continued. The Social Democratic began to engage in mass agitation, especially under the leadership of Lenin in St. Petersburg.

First Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was held in Minsk March 14, 1898. Limited in composition, it sat for only 3 days and confined itself to forming a party, electing a central committee, and resolving to issue a manifesto. The delegates had just about returned to their homes when they were simultaneously arrested.

The Second Congress, which met in London in July and August 1903, adopted the Party program, and passed a number of resolutions on questions of tactics. Division of opinion on a number of political and organizational questions split the Congress into a majority (Bolshevik) and a minority (Menshevik). The history of the Bolshevik Party as such really begins from the Second Party Congress. The Congress was attended by 44 delegates representing 26 organizations. Among the 44 delegates were 4 workers; the remainder were intellectuals. The Mensheviks supported the Cadets (Constitutional Democrats). At the Third Party Congress, held in 1905, the entire delegation consisted of Bolsheviks.

#### D. The Revolution of 1905

The Russo-Japanese war rendered acute the discontent of the workers. The crisis diverted economic strikes into the channels of the political struggle. The general strike which broke out in the Baku oil fields in December 1904 was the signal for mass political action all over the country. "Bloody Sunday" (January 9, 1905) forced the government to appoint an investigative commission which included representatives from the workers. The revolution of 1905 could triumph, declared the Bolsheviks, only by overthrowing the tsarist autocracy by means of armed insurrection, primarily in the main industrial centers, and with the determined support of the peasantry. The Mensheviks declared that it was necessary to wait until the masses themselves rose spontaneously. In the Third Party Congress in 1905 a resolution was adopted which denounced the stand of the Mensheviks. Of great importance was the decision in the sphere of Party organization. The three central bodies set up by the Second Congress were replaced by a single body - the Central Committee -- which was endowed with plenary powers in the

SECRET

intervals between Congresses. Simultaneously with the Third Congress, the Mensheviks held their First Conference which rejected all measures of technical preparation for armed insurrection. In October 1905 a strike began on the railroads in Moscow, whence it spread to the whole railroad system of the country. Transport and large-scale industry were brought to a standstill. The Tsarist government was forced to issue the Manifesto of October 17, promising the people civil liberties, and an extension of the rights of the state Duma and the electoral law. The October strike was the first stimulus for the formation of Soviets of Workers' Deputies which became the leading organs of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and were the embryonic organs of revolutionary power.

At the end of 1905 the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks constituted in fact two separate parties. But, at a conference of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks held towards the end of 1905, it was decided to summon a "Unity" Congress at the beginning of 1906. This Unity, Fourth, or Stockholm Congress was held in April 1906. The two antagonists, Lenin and Plekhanov argue - the Congress accomplished little but to emphasize the schism already in existence. At London the Fifth (or London) Congress found the Bolsheviks slightly outnumbering the Mensheviks (105 to 97). Very soon after the London Congress the Second Duma was dissolved. The Party was ruthlessly suppressed; ten years elapsed before the next Party congress was held. Among the Bolshevik delegates to the London Congress were: Lenin, Stalin, Kamenov, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Plekhanov, Axelrod. The majority of the arrested deputies were condemned to penal servitude and exile and regained their freedom only upon the outbreak of the Revolution of March, 1917. In the interim the Central Committee functioned, first in Finland, later in Switzerland. The Mensheviks leaders went abroad also, mainly in Geneva.

#### E. The Pre-1917 Period

1. In the autumn of 1910 demonstrations took place in connection with the death of the former president of the First Duma, MUROMTSEV, and of the famous writer, Leo Tolstoy. A general strike of students broke out at the beginning of 1911, in protest against the repressive measures taken by the government, and spread throughout the whole of Russia. In January 9, 1912, for the first time after many years, political strikes broke out in St. Petersburg, and other cities. May 1, 1914 was again marked by general strikes in St. Petersburg and other industrial centers. In July the strikes and demonstrations in St. Petersburg tended to open street fighting. But Russia mobilized the same month!

SECRET

Meanwhile, at the Sixth (Prague) Conference, the Bolsheviks officially established their own Party; it "was a big step towards the final consolidation in Russia of a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type, a monolithic militant organization, cleansed of opportunists and of the factionalism, which, according to Lenin, was a characteristic feature of the Social-Democratic Party at a certain period (from 1903 to 1911)".

#### 1914-1917

The Bolsheviks insisted that the proletariat must retain its arms and turn them against the bourgeoisie, and the imperialist war, a war in which the proletarians were being compelled to destroy each other, must be transformed into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This idea was not expressed in September 1915 at the conference of Socialists in Zimmerwald in which the Bolshevik Party participated. Lenin and his followers tried again at Kienthal in April, 1916, with little success, but did create a group which established the Third International.

#### The March 1917 Revolution

"The February ~~March~~ Revolution was a revolt of the masses of the people headed by the proletariat; it was a revolt of the workers and soldiers against the tsarist government and against the imperialist war."

Lenin arrived in Russia on April 4, 1917, just after the All-Russian Conference of Soviets terminated. In his "April Theses" Lenin emphasized the fact that the war was an imperialist war to which the Party would not offer the slightest support. Lenin put forward the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets". Of the eight to nine hundred delegates only a little over one hundred were Bolsheviks. Popov asserts that "although the Bolsheviks were in a minority, the atmosphere of the Congress was impregnated with Bolshevik ideas." (?) In July there were mass arrests of the Bolsheviks; Lenin had to flee the country.

#### The November 1917 Revolution

On October 24 (Nov. 7), Kerensky delivered a speech to the Parliament in which he promised to extirpate the Bolsheviks root and branch. On the night of October 24 the Provisional Government attempted to have the premises of the Bolshevik newspapers occupied by troops. But that very night and during the following day, troops and detachments of the workers' Red Guard, practically without firing a shot, took possession of the chief strategic points of Petrograd. On the evening of October 25 the Second Congress of Soviets met and established a Soviet Government headed by Lenin.



SECRET

## II. Provisional Government - Revolution of March 1917

The Tsardom was not so much overthrown as it simply collapsed of its own inertia and its own incompetence. The point was simply reached in the winter and spring of 1917 when the Tsar had no base of support. The result was that he fell and was replaced by the so-called Provisional Government, and the process constituted the Second Russian Revolution.

We shall outline briefly a few of the events which led to the establishment of the Provisional Government. In the winter and spring of 1917 the desertion of soldiers from the front lines, largely under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda, was very extensive. Disorders and strikes began to spread throughout the country. The Soviets began to reappear in various parts of the country. In March there were serious food riots in Petrograd. The rioters were joined by a regiment of the Imperial Guard. Together they forced several of the prisons in the city and freed many political prisoners. The Duma proceeded to appoint a provisional government committee. The Social Democrats, however, refused to participate. Instead the Socialists formed a Provisional Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and called for elections in the factories and barracks of Petrograd. On March 12 the Petrograd Soviet Committee was proclaimed to be in existence, and it proceeded to elect its officers. Chkheidze, a Social Revolutionary, or SR, was elected chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. The vice chairman was Alexander Kerensky.

We may note the basic difference between the Social Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats. The SR's were socialists who based their approach upon the peasantry and found their support primarily in the peasantry. The Social Democrats, both Bolshevik and Menshevik, based their approach primarily upon the industrial workers.

The Tsar abdicated the crown on March 15; he abdicated in favor of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael; but Michael, it rapidly became apparent, was not at all anxious to take over the crown, and within a few days he, too, stepped out of the picture.

Prince Georgi Lvov, a Constitutional Democrat, or Cadet, a middle-of-the-road party, formed the first provisional government cabinet, a cabinet which included Alexander Kerensky as the Minister of Justice and the cabinet member furthest to the left. Fundamentally the program of the provisional government called for two things. It called upon the people to fight on, to continue the war against the Central Powers; and secondly, the government proposed that all basic questions with respect to the future nature of the Russian state be left to a constituent assembly which would be convened in due course. Unfortunately, this constituent assembly was never convened under the Provisional Government.

And so we have during 1917 a very peculiar situation in Petrograd. We have substantially two governments: We have the official government, that is the Provisional Government, which was not popularly established since it was drawn from the membership of the ~~then~~-sitting Fourth Duma, the franchise for which had been quite limited. On the other hand, we have the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies; later it was known as the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. This was a popularly elected organ, at least as far as the workers and soldiers of Petrograd were concerned; and it rapidly became the real source of power.

The peasant, accustomed to having orders come from above, was ready to accept the decrees of the provisional government and the constituent assembly. One village even sent to Petrograd for a portrait of the new sovereign Revolutsia!

An indication of the real power of the Petrograd Soviet lay in the famous Army order No. 1, which was issued by the Soviet on the 14th of March, the day before the actual date of the revolution. This order had four sections. It told the Army, first of all, that soldiers' committees were to be established in all units; second, that each attachment was to obey the Soviet in political matters; third, that orders of the Military Commission of the Duma were to be followed only if they did not contradict the orders of the Soviet; and finally, that all weapons were to be under the control of the soldiers' committees. The provisional government refused to approve this order, but it went into effect anyway; and the soldiers' committees were formed.

This was followed by mass desertions, instigated again by Bolshevik propaganda. Within two months there were 2,000,000 deserters flooding the rear.

The first decree of the Provisional Government, issued under pressure from the Petrograd Soviet, proclaimed, among other things, first a general amnesty for all political, religious, and military prisoners; second, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom to form unions and stage strikes. Third, the abolition of all social, religious, and racial distinctions. Fourth, the calling of a constituent assembly. Fifth, a people's militia was to replace the police. Sixth, elections to be based on universal suffrage. Seventh, troops that took part in the revolution should remain in Petrograd and not be transferred to the front. Eighth, soldiers to have the same public rights as civilians when not in active service. The Soviet did not wish to seize power only because it feared reaction among the liberal and conservative elements. The Soviet preferred to maintain the Provisional Government, i.e., nominal authority as a bait for other social groups, controlling it and checking its authority at will.

SECRET

Lenin returned to Petrograd from his place of exile in Switzerland on April 16th. With him he brought other leaders of the Bolsheviks, and with him he also brought his famous April Theses. The April Theses contained three points: (1) immediate peace, (2) immediate distribution of land to the peasants and the seizure of the factories by the workers, (3) "all power to the Soviets." Lenin was returned to Petrograd in a sealed railroad car, which traveled across Germany with the permission of the German Imperial staff. The Germans were happy to see this man returned to Russia because they knew that he proposed to take Russia out of war with the Central Powers at the earliest possible moment.

Lenin had not been back long before the effects of his return became evident. On May 3rd, the Bolsheviks demonstrated in Petrograd under the slogan "Down with Miliukov!" Miliukov was then Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Lvov government, favored continuing war. On May 17th, a new cabinet was formed which excluded both Miliukov and the Minister of War, Guchkov. Lvov remained the premier but Kerensky, Minister of War, was now the real chief of government and shortly became the premier.

On June 16th, the first all-Russian Congress of Soviets convened in Petrograd; the Bolsheviks found themselves in a distinct minority. They called for a revolution but were turned down.

In July, Kerensky personally directed an offensive against the Austrians on the Southern front. The offensive initially succeeded, but then failed and the Russian forces were once again thrown back. This had the effect of further demoralizing the Russian people.

A very peculiar affair occurred on July 16th to 18th - peculiar to the extent that the workers and soldiers of Petrograd got even ahead of the Bolsheviks in their movement for immediate revolt. Lenin, seeing that the attempt, while in his opinion ill-timed, could not be halted, determined that the Bolsheviks would provide leadership, and hoped that the attempt might be deflected. The Bolsheviks were successful in deflecting the revolt, but, as Lenin feared, the government immediately counterattacked, arresting a number of political leaders, including Leon Trotsky, who had now returned from exile abroad and was playing a major part in the events in Petrograd. Lenin was forced to go into hiding into Finland.

While the government had momentarily avoided being overthrown, its situation became progressively worse. Under the burden of war, the national economy continued to disintegrate. There was great turmoil in the country-side, where the peasants were failing to reap the harvest; the demands of the factory workers were impossible of fulfillment; the railroad system was widely disrupted. Taxes fell off 1/3 in the first month of revolution. Internal loans of the Provisional Government did not sell well...printed money.

SECRET

On July 30, Kornilov had been appointed by Kerensky to replace Brusilov, Commander-in-Chief of Army.

Differences of opinion had arisen between the Commander-in-Chief, Kornilov, who had established the death penalty at the front, and Kerensky, who hesitated to establish it at the rear.

Kornilov had demanded of the government return of military discipline and the death penalty for desertion. Kornilov was surrounded by political opportunists. He intended to get rid, by annihilation, of the Soviet, by military force. He tried to win the cooperation of the Provisional Government; but if, at the last moment, he found that he couldn't get their cooperation, he intended to get rid of both the provisional government and the Soviet. This was further complicated when a direct split was made evident on August 27, at a National Political Conference, attended by Kornilov. Kornilov was applauded by the conservative members. The socialist half of the delegation applauded Kerensky.

Kornilov, in agreement with the Provisional Government moved the Third Cavalry Corps toward the capital in anticipation of a Bolshevik revolution on the announcement of measures to secure discipline in the Army.

A further complication was brought about by V.N. Lvov, who attempted to play the part of an intermediary, representing to each that he had full authority to speak for the other. Kornilov received the impression that Kerensky was prepared to have over to him, Kornilov, dictatorial power in Russia, while Kerensky would be satisfied with a place in the government. Kornilov agreed.

Then Lvov presented to Kerensky the proposal as an ultimatum from Kornilov. On September 8, Kerensky called Kornilov for confirmation of the report that he had delegated Lvov to convey information of his plans and purposes. Kornilov replied affirmatively, neglecting to ask Kerensky what Lvov said to him.

Kerensky, on September 9, dismissed Kornilov as Commander-in-Chief.

Kornilov, on September 10, issued a proclamation to all Russian citizens refusing to give up his post and asked for support against the Provisional Government. At the same time he ordered General Krymov to move the Third Cavalry Corps against Petrograd.

Kerensky meanwhile joined forces with the left groups of the Petrograd Soviet and ordered the Petrograd garrison to prepare to fight General Krymov.

SECRET

Propaganda by the Bolsheviks in the ranks of Krimov's forces had an important effect, and Bolshevik railroad workers deflected a number of Krimov's troop trains. When the two forces met, some distance outside of Petrograd, there was more fraternization than fighting. Kerensky ordered Krimov to report to Petrograd. Krimov did so, and committed suicide the next day. Kronillov was arrested. In appreciation for the assistance given to him by the Petrograd Soviets, a number of the Bolshevik leaders, including Trotsky, were released.

A. Summary of Events - 1917

1. Russia - economically backward
2. Poor lines of communication. Germany was blockaded; so was Russia.
3. Government proved itself as incompetent and corrupt as in 1854 and 1904.
4. Great military disasters.

The people, very patriotic, gradually lost enthusiasm but the Czar only listened to the selfish advice of individuals in his immediate government circle - interpreted all demands as unpatriotic or groundless. With his approval, the government interfered in every possible way with the activities of the DUMA.

By 1916 internal discontent, especially in the large cities, had swelled to alarming proportions. The food situation had become critical.

5. March 1917

- (a) Bad food shortage in Petrograd - demonstrations of protest accompanied by riots
- (b) Soldiers went over to the people - deserting the government
- (c) Duma, in session at the time, although daily expecting dissolution by the Government, was alarmed by the street riot in the capital - resolved to act to save the situation.

Organized a temporary provisional government, and sent a delegation to the Czar demanding his abdication.

B. Russian Political Parties - 1895-1917

1898 - Social Democratic Labor Party (Workers)

1903 - Split

Menshevik - Minority

Bolshevik - Majority

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1912 - Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party

1895 - Social Revolutionary Party (SR)  
(Peasantry)

(1) Some came from the militant group - "Will of the People"

(2) Excluded "intellectuals"

1905 - Constitutional Democratic Party - also called "Cadet" Party.  
(professors, liberal landowners, merchants)

Wanted a strong middle class party.

Nicholas II abdicated for himself and his son (March 15) and was put under arrest.

Revolution of March 1917 was accomplished within a week. The rest of the country, and particularly the army submitted to the new authority. Only a little bloodshed.

For a while the government was in the hands of the non-socialist Constitutional Democrats, but in July passed to Alexander Kerensky a brilliant orator of moderate socialist views.

Provisional Government - Problems

- (1) A difficult situation to face - lack of unity.
- (2) Russia tired of war - desertion
- (3) A "bourgeois" control - property rights to be respected.
- (4) No adequate anti-bolshevik problem.
- (5) Duma not highly esteemed.
- (6) Loss of morale in Armed Forces.
- (7) Clever appeal of Bolshevik propaganda.

### III. Revolution of November 1917

#### A. Rise of the Bolsheviks

1. Came forward at this critical period.
2. Many returned from exile.
3. Urged withdrawal from the war
4. Wanted a social revolution and not merely a political one.  
"bread, land, peace."

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5. Instrument for such a revolution  
"Soviet of Workmen's Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies" which  
had been organized throughout the country on the model of the  
Petrograd Soviet.

B. Revolution - November 7, 1917

1. Drove Kerensky from Petrograd
2. A bloody affair  
Riots, assassinations and measures just as autocratic as any  
in which the Cezars had indulged.

New Government

"Russian Socialistic Federated Republic of Soviets"

July 1, 1918 - Czar, Czarina, brutally shot to death.

First step - arranged an armistice with the Central Powers.

March 1918 - Brest-Litovsk

Allied assistance to White Russians - pro-Czarist followers.  
Many countries, including U.S. refused to recognize the new  
government.

As the year 1917 wore on, the strength of the Bolsheviks continued  
to grow. And most significantly that strength rapidly developed in the  
two bodies which Lenin felt were essential to successful Bolshevik  
revolution.

These bodies were the Soviets and the Army Committees which had  
been created under Army Order "Number One."

Lenin realized that Bolshevik dominance of these two elements was  
essential to success. The two great slogans of the Bolsheviks during  
1917 and at the time of the November revolution were "Peace, Bread, and  
Land" and, secondly, "All power to the Soviets."

The first slogan was particularly well chosen from the point of view  
of mass appeal because it was "Peace and Bread and Land" that the people  
of Russia most wanted.

Trotsky, who had been released from prison following the Kornilov  
affair, was elected in October as President of the Petrograd Soviet.  
This was a development of major importance to the Bolsheviks. The  
Bolsheviks also controlled the Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet.

On November 4, the Petrograd Army garrison was ordered by the Soviet to transfer its allegiance to the Military Committee of the Soviet and it did so. On November 6, Lenin returned to Petrograd from his hiding place in Finland, and, with his return, the revolution was under way. November 7 is the traditional date of the Bolshevik Revolution. During the night of November 7, the principal government buildings were occupied by the Bolsheviks. Posters announced their program: (1) immediate peace negotiations; (2) partition of large-estates; (3) control of all factories by the workers; (4) creation of a Soviet government. The fighting in Petrograd was over by November 8. In Moscow the fighting lasted somewhat longer. In Petrograd, the fighting was climaxed by the assault on the Winter Palace and the Admiralty by the Bolshevik forces. In their attack they were supported by the Cruiser Aurora, which was anchored in the river Neva, and by the guns of the Fortress of Peter and Paul. However, these two sources of fire were of little help since the Aurora fired mostly duds and the guns of the Fortress fired all over the place with very little accuracy. The last military unit to defend the Provisional Government was a women's battalion. This battalion had been formed during 1917, under Kerensky's direction, in order to shame the men back to their places at the front during the time of mass desertion. In Moscow a few thousand military cadets defended the Kremlin until about November 14. Kerensky, after attempting unsuccessfully to recruit troops, fled and took no further part in the struggle between Bolsheviks and their opponents.

We come now to the matter of the formation of the new government under the Bolsheviks and with it we find Russia in what is known as the period of War Communism or the Period of Militant Communism.

On November 7, the day of the Revolution, the All Russian Congress of Soviets, dominated by the Bolsheviks, met in Petrograd and approved the Bolshevik Coup. On Lenin's motion, the Congress passed decrees for: (1) the Conclusion of Peace, (2) the Nationalization of all land, and (3) the Formation of a Council of People's Commissars. Lenin was chosen to be chairman of this first Council. Trotsky became Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Rykov was Commissar for Internal Affairs; Lunacharsky was Commissar for Education; and Stalin was chosen Commissar of Nationalities.

The new government found itself faced with a great deal of hostility on the part of the old governmental bureaucracy. Much of the bureaucracy did not feel that the Bolsheviks could long stay in power, and, as a matter of fact, they were joined in this opinion by several of the Bolshevik leaders, who felt that the best they could hope for was to set a revolutionary example for the most advanced industrial nations of the West. Through persuasion and liquidation, however, the bureaucracy was progressively brought under the control of the new government.



In the provinces, power was rapidly switched from the political Commissars, put there by the Provisional Government, to the Soviets which became dominated by the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks sent out agitators and armed supporters to secure control of the Soviets.

In December of 1917 there was created the Cheka, which is an abbreviation of the Russian for "Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter Revolution". There followed upon the creation of the Cheka the Red Terror, during which the Cheka turned its vengeance upon all enemies of the new state and liquidated thousands upon thousands, including a number of workers. The formation of the Cheka was in line with Lenin's policies, announced in the statement: "No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence." His selection of Felix Dzerjinsky as the head of the Cheka was ideal for his purposes. One can only say that he was cold-blooded to a degree that is unbelievable; for example, at the meetings of the Sovnarkom it was Lenin's custom to exchange notes with his colleagues. On one occasion he sent a note to Dzerjinsky asking, "How many vicious counter-revolutionaries are there in the prisons?" Dzerjinsky replied, "About 1500."

In February of 1918, there was created the Red Army which, under Trotsky's direction, defended the new regime during the civil war which ensued.

The new regime employed food rationing in order to insure political control. Those who supported the state and were engaged in productive labor received their food rations; those who did not, received no food ration and were subject to starvation.

The Bolsheviks engaged in pure revolutionary action in many fields. In the field of industry, wages were equalized and the factories were turned over to control of the workers; the result, by and large, was chaos. The skilled worker did not necessarily make a good plant supervisor and the workers in many cases looted the plant and the production of the plant.

In the field of Finance the Bank System was abolished and it was some time before it was replaced with a new state banking system. The result was severe with respect to the nation's financial affairs.

The government declared itself against religion and in the provinces, a number of priests were murdered.

On November 20, 1917 Lenin called General Dukhonin on the telephone and ordered him to treat for an Armistice with the Central Powers immediately. When Dukhonin refused, Ensign Krylenko was sent to the front to replace Dukhonin. Krylenko as an ensign was the equivalent of a 2nd Lieutenant or a Warrant Officer. When Krylenko arrived at the front, Dukhonin was murdered and mutilated by his own troops.

Leon Trotsky was sent to Brest-Litovsk in White Russia to negotiate with the representatives of the Central Powers for an Armistice. Trotsky was perhaps a poor choice. He was a devotee of permanent revolution. He believed that the revolution having been successful in Russia, revolt would follow in rather short order in the great industrial nations of the West. Therefore, Trotsky chose the occasion of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk to propagandize to the peoples of the West over the heads of their leaders. The Germans, and the Austro-Hungarian representatives listened to Trotsky for a while and then left in disgust. Trotsky left Brest-Litovsk with his famous statement, "Neither War nor Peace." Trotsky may have felt that there could be a situation where they could have "neither war nor peace," but the Germans did not agree with him and the forces of the Central Powers once more began to move to the East, thrusting on into the Ukraine, the Baltic States and White Russia. Lenin realized that peace immediately was absolutely essential to the preservation of his revolution. He therefore acted to persuade the party that Russia must sign at any cost. The terms which had been presented to Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk were very severe, but Lenin said that he was prepared to pay almost any price for peace. With great difficulty, he persuaded the party to his point of view and Sokolnikov was sent to Brest-Litovsk to sign with the Central Powers. The treaty presented to Sokolnikov was even more severe than that which had been presented to Trotsky but, under instructions, Sokolnikov signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3 of 1918. The treaty was accompanied by an economic agreement which provided for a rather thorough economic exploitation of Russia by Germany. Under the terms of this treaty, Russia lost virtually all of the territory which she had gained on her Western Frontiers since the time of Peter the Great. Taken from her were the Baltic States, Poland, and the Ukraine, and ultimately Finland. But of course Germany met her Waterloo on November 11 of 1918 and with that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk became essentially inapplicable.

#### IV. Civil War 1918-1921

We now come to a brief consideration of the Russian Civil War. It took place fundamentally for two reasons. (1) The Bolsheviks first of all were a party which had a program calculated to achieve mass appeal, but it was a party which had a dogmatic concept and it was ruthless in the application of that concept. The result was that the Bolsheviks rapidly achieved the opposition of all of the political right and center and much of the left. (2) Secondly, the Western allies were very reluctant to see Russia withdrawn from the war and they were determined to displace if possible any Russian regime which sought to take Russia out of that war. We shall not endeavor to describe all of the campaigns of the war in any great detail. In general, it was a war fought over a vast area, ruthless in its nature as civil wars are wont to be.

There was great loss of life, running into the many millions amongst both the civilian and military populations. It was, in many instances, a highly fluid war - typified by a situation in which the Bolsheviks would take a town in the morning, the Whites would retake it in the afternoon and the Bolsheviks would perhaps be back in the evening. There were, however, relatively static fronts fought over in the more classical sense.

The Allies gave substantial assistance to the White Forces in the form of military supplies. In addition, in some areas there were clashes between the Allied Forces and those of the Reds.

The Bolsheviks held the center of Great Russia Proper, that is the area of Moscow, Leningrad and environs. The White Forces were arrayed against the Reds along the circumference of this area. The Bolsheviks were long hard pressed but held out, eventually were able to go over to the counter-attack and the civil war had substantially ended by late 1920.

Concurrent with the struggle in the civil war was the Russo-Polish War of 1920 which ultimately resulted in defeat for the Bolshevik Forces and the signing of the Treaty of Riga.

The question arises why did the Bolsheviks win? They did win against great odds. Several reasons may be given. First, from the point of view of tactical advantage, the Reds held interior lines of communication. They were to fight most of the war along a relatively abbreviated front and they held the area best covered by communication facilities. A second major reason was Trotsky's truly brilliant organization and direction of the Red Army. Starting virtually from scratch, he was able in short order to organize an effective fighting force. Thirdly, the Bolsheviks tended to be united through the pressure on their limited perimeter. Bunched together in a common cause, they had the relatively high morale typical in such cases. Fourth, with their effective propaganda, they were able by and large to win and retain the support of the youth and the workers. Fifth, Red propaganda in the ranks of the Whites was in many cases quite effective and in many cases resulted in numbers of desertions. Sixth, and very important, there was a distinct lack of cohesion in the ranks of the White Forces. This was due primarily to the great divergence in the political attitudes of the various White elements. In political point of view, the Whites ranged from Monarchists to Social Revolutionaries, and it was exceedingly difficult to get effective cooperation between such diverse groups. Finally and also very important, after the signing of the Armistice in the West, in November of 1918, there was a fall in Allied interest in supporting the White Forces, although Allied assistance to the Whites did not reach its peak until mid 1919. Thereafter, allied aid progressively declined.

We are now brought to a consideration of the state Russia at the end of the Civil War. Russia had suffered very severely from the effects of World War I compounded by the destruction of the Civil War. With the end of the Civil War at the close of 1920 inflation was rampant. The deficits of the government were very great. The industry of the country was 5/6 dissipated or destroyed. The transportation system, never adequate, was now hopelessly shattered. Private trade, having been outlawed, was taking place through illegal channels. The government had wrecked the basis for foreign trade by its confiscation of foreign property. In summary, the country was living on its depleted reserves and those reserves were very badly depleted.

### New Economic Policy

In 1921 we find the commencement of the era in Soviet development known as the period of the New Economic Policy or NEP. This period runs from 1921 to 1928. During the period 1920 to 1929. During the period 1920 to 1921, there were serious peasant up-risings in the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasuses. This resulted in large measure from the punitive expeditions which were sent into the countryside by the government in order to collect the badly needed grain for the use of the Army and the workers in the city.

The peasants in many areas bitterly resented this effort and there was considerable bloodshed.

The New Economic Policy was in essence a partial reversion to free enterprise, a recognition that the situation was so serious that the plans of the Bolshevik Party must be altered if the Bolsheviks were to remain in power. The basic object of the NEP was to re-achieve Russia's 1913 level of production. This was substantially achieved by 1928.

In the field of agriculture the former practice of the government - taking the entire crop surplus - was now replaced first with a crop tax and then a money tax. This was necessary because it was found that the peasants had simply not been raising any surplus since the government would take it anyhow. Now the surplus left after the tax could be sold in the free market. The purpose was to give incentive for cultivation. This led to the introduction of free trade which was established in July of 1921. Foreign Trade however remained a government monopoly and has been such to this date.

In the field of industry, heavy industry was largely operated under state trusts. Light industry on the other hand was given over to free enterprise. Concessions were made to foreign capital to commence its influx.

In the field of finance, the currency and banking systems were reestablished. In late 1921, the State Bank or Gosbank with branches throughout the country was established. Abroad, the NEP was largely misinterpreted, it being held that the Bolsheviks were conceding that Socialism did not work and that they must revert to capitalism. The NEP was merely an emergency measure to avoid complete disaster for the Reds. A substantial measure of state control and supervision was still involved in the NEP and the party definitely planned to revert to full state control at the earliest possible moment.

### RUSSIA 1921-1939

1920 - Allies abandoned the blockade.

1922 - Japs withdrew their forces from Eastern Siberia.

- (1) Soviet Russia had shown her ability to survive - at great costs.
- (2) Wholesale execution of suspects and hostages by Bolsheviks.

## N.E.P. 1921

- (1) Bolsheviks attempted to carry out their program to nationalize all land and industry in Russia.
- (2) By 1921 Lenin saw the task was too great for immediate execution.

In many industries production had fallen to less than 1/5 of the pre-war output.

Peasants — disillusioned

- (1) Confiscated lands were not theirs.
- (2) Had to surrender their crops to feed the city workers.
- (3) Lenin sponsored a compromise known as New Economic Policy.

Restored the smaller plants — employing no more than 15-20 workers to private control.

Permitted the peasants to sell their grains for profit.

Obtained capital by extending concessions to foreigners.

Communist Party (as the Bolsheviks named themselves) in 1919 became more popular.

When Lenin died in 1924, his desperate experiment was on the road to success.

Communist regime in the most interesting social experiment in the 20th Century.

## V. Rise of Stalin

On August 18 of 1918, Lenin was badly wounded in an assassination attempt by a Social Revolutionary, Dora Kaplin. There followed upon this attempt similar attempts on other Bolshevik leaders, a number of whom were killed. A reign of terror followed as the Cheka rather indiscriminately rounded up thousands of individuals, many of whom were executed almost on the spot. The Bolsheviks later admitted that many of them were undoubtedly innocent but that the important thing was to get the guilty parties however many innocents might die. In May of 1922, Lenin had his first cerebral stroke. In March of 1923, he had a second one and on January 21, 1924 he had his third and final stroke resulting in his death. Lenin's death was followed by a virtual deification of the man — largely under the personal supervision of Stalin. This was undoubtedly contrary to Lenin's desires but Stalin evidently figured that this was convenient from the point of view of mass appeal.

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With Lenin's death, there was established a so-called triumvirate as the rulers of Party and Government. This Triumvirate was constituted to exclude Trotsky with whom no one could get along. It included Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev.

What was the basis of Stalin's strength? How was he able to rise eventually to dictatorial control of Party and Country? This was made possible by the positions that Stalin early achieved. We have spoken earlier of the fact that he was Commissar of Nationalities in the first Sovnarkom. As Commissar of Nationalities, he had intimate contact with the various non-Great Russian peoples and leaders in the country. This gave him a broad association and influence. Secondly, he was Chairman of the Workers' and Peoples' Inspectorate. As such, he was head of the organization with extensive power of inspection in all industrial and agricultural enterprises and thus was able to extend his influence amongst both workers and peasants. Thirdly, he was an original member of the Polit-Bureau and thus from the outset was a member of the organ which eventually became by far the most powerful element in the Party. Finally and very importantly in 1922, he became General Secretary of the Party. This position was of most fundamental importance to him in insuring his rise to power. As General Secretary, he created all echelons of party officials from the Village to Moscow. Thus when the Party Congresses met, they were, in short order, Congresses primarily of Stalin supporters. Stalin took to busying himself primarily with administrative matters and in so doing, insures that he created an administrative organization in the Party which supported him.

It is interesting to note the techniques that Stalin employed in the high Councils of the Party during the inter-Party struggle of the 1920's. Stalin tended to sit back and listen to the statements of the others, observe carefully the reaction of the various members of the Party Organs and then speak last, summing up in a manner that he was confident would win the approval of the majority of the members. This technique he employed effectively to defeat Trotsky and the others time and time again. During the 20's Stalin and Bukharin and Rykov stood for a relatively lenient policy toward the peasants. Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were in opposition to this position; they were for a more forceful approach and were called the Left Bolsheviks. The Opposition also fought the autocracy of the Polit-Bureau within the Party.

The decline of the so-called oppositionists, once under way, progressed rapidly. In April 1925, Leon Trotsky was switched from the War Commissariat to the position of Commissar of National Economy. In October 1926, Zinoviev and Kamenev recanted, apologizing for their opposition and agreeing to cease their struggle against the Stalinist majority in the party.

It is interesting to note that Zinoviev and Kamenev were willing time and time again to apologize in an effort to be reinstated. Trotsky would never recant and held implacably to his position.

In July 1927, Trotsky was expelled from the Central Committee when he had the audacity to denounce Stalin before that body. He was the last to do so. In November 1927, Trotsky and Zinoviev led a demonstration in Moscow against the Stalinist element on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. For this performance both Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party. A month later, in December 1927, all of the opposition leaders were expelled from the party. In January 1928, Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata. In early 1928, Kamenev and Zinoviev again asked pardon and in turn were given minor positions in Central Russia. In the summer of 1928, Kamenev and Zinoviev were readmitted to the party as simple members. In early 1929, Trotsky was brought back from Alma Ata and deported to Turkey. Why was he not liquidated at this time? Presumably because Trotsky was so well known to the Russian people that Stalin felt that it was politically not expedient to actually eliminate such a personality. From Turkey, Trotsky proceeded to publish his Bulletin of the Opposition, a journal which set forth the views of those Bolsheviks opposing the Stalinist position.

Customarily, the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky is described as the conflict between Stalin's theory of socialism on one country, as opposed to Trotsky's of permanent revolution. In reality, a much more significant basis for the conflict can perhaps be found in the difference between these two personalities. Trotsky flamboyant, dynamic, and aggressive; Stalin patient, plodding, and ruthless. The one man, Trotsky, concerned with policy; the other, Stalin, patiently and quietly building up under him a party hierarchy upon which he could count when the time came.

In speaking of Soviet Russia's foreign relations during the 1920's we shall confine ourselves to a brief description of the activities of the Comintern, the Third Communist International, during this period. In March of 1919, the First Congress of the Comintern met in Moscow. As a result of the work of this Congress, Communist regimes were established in Hungary and Bavaria in 1919. However they did not last long; and in July 1920, the Second Congress of the Comintern was held, and the major decision reached was to concentrate on propaganda activities.

During the 1920's the Comintern met with little success in the Middle East and India, due primarily to the opposition of the religions of these areas. Bolshevik atheism simply did not go over well with the Moslems and the Hindus. Under Stalin's direction, the Comintern supported the Kuomintang in China during the period 1924-1927. Initially the collaboration of the Chinese Communists with the Kuomintang was successful. However, in 1927, Chiang-Kai-Shek broke with the Communists and attacked them. This episode was quite embarrassing to Stalin. Trotsky had opposed collaboration with the Kuomintang. Stalin had supported it. The Comintern is perhaps most significant during the 1920's as a great obstacle to the establishment by the Soviet Union of good relations with other nations. Very possibly, the lack of success of the Comintern played a major part in turning Stalin's primary interest inward towards the development of the Soviet Union rather than outwards towards to promotion of external revolution.



### The Five Year Plan

With the arrival of 1928 and the conclusion of the NEP we come to the period of the first Five-Year Plan. The basic objectives of the first Five Year Plan were, first, the rapid expansion of Russia's capital goods complex, and secondly, the collectivization of agriculture. In the field of industry, the slogan of the day was "overtake and pass America!" This objective, of course, was hardly accomplished, but was perhaps well-designed from an inspirational point of view. The task that faced the government and the party in staging the first Five-Year Plan was a tremendous one. Essentially, it was a matter of converting a peasant economy to an industrial economy. During the plan, there was tremendous waste, in both product and manpower. At one point in the plan, it was estimated that 40 per cent of the national product consisted of waste material. The people suffered to a tremendous extent during this period. Factories were built before housing was put up, with the result that the workers engaged in the construction activities often lived in caves, in rude huts, or in the open. The peasants pulled into the factories, not used to mechanical processes, were often the victims of the machines they operated; and industrial casualties were at a high rate. The costs of the products were phenomenal at the outset. Consumer goods were cut to the bone in the effort overnight to create an industry substantial for the future. For the most part, the new industry was concentrated east of the Ural Mountains in the belief that these mountains could act as a protective barrier in the event of future invasion from the west.

There was substantial accomplishment during the first Five Year Plan, but accomplishment at a tremendous cost and a tremendous waste. Eventually, the plan was shortened to a Four Year period and was declared at a close in 1932. But at this point, the plan had fallen far short of fulfillment.

An interesting development during the period of the first Five Year Plan was the charge of wrecking, or sabotage, lodged against many thousands of workers in the factories. If a single peasant brought to a factory to work dropped a piece of machinery and broke it by accident, he could be — and often was — charged with sabotaging the Five Year Plan. He was tried, and in many cases sentenced to extensive periods of penal servitude. And from this began the vast slave labor system which the Soviet Union possesses today.

In the field of agriculture, the basic objectives were to break the rich peasants, the so-called kulaks, "kulaks" being the Russian word for "fist," and probably having its origin in references to the hard-fisted landlord. In reality, we might question whether the so-called kulaks were really rich peasants, a rich peasant at this time being defined as one whose annual income was roughly \$80 to \$100 per annum, the middle peasants being classified as those with incomes of approximately \$50 to \$80 per annum, and the poor peasants being those with lesser incomes. The agricultural plan sought to create collective farms, and "Sovkhozes," state farms, in order to achieve greater efficiency in agriculture, along with mechanization of agricultural efficiency, but also to release vast numbers of peasants from the farms for employment in the factories.



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A very discriminatory tax and levy system was imposed in order to force the peasants onto the new farms and break the kulaks. The situation was tremendously complicated by the failure of soviet industry to deliver anything like the required number of tractors, combines, etc. The peasants fought bitterly against the attempt to collectivize them, with the result that there was open and widescale warfare in the Ukraine and the northern Caucasus.

In many cases it was difficult for a peasant to determine whether he was a rich peasant or a middle peasant. If he had two cows, he was afraid that he might be regarded as a kulak; therefore, in many cases the peasants would kill one or both of their cows to be sure that they would not fall into the kulak category. The result of this was a tremendous decline in Soviet income, and a very severe famine in the agricultural areas that resulted in the loss of millions of lives. Many kulaks were liquidated, and at least a million others were deported to slave labor in Siberia.

In the midst of all this suffering in the countryside, in March 1930 there appeared in Pravda Stalin's famous article "Dixiness from Success". In this article, Stalin indicated that it was very unfortunate that all this had occurred, that it was really quite unnecessary, that the party workers must have misunderstood their instructions, that the peasants were to be persuaded of the desirability of going to the state farms and the collective farms, that they were not to be forced. What Stalin was doing was playing an old Russian game - the game of the leader, be he Tsar or Party General Secretary, telling the masses that he - the leader - was for them; and that their suffering was the result of the bungling and the criminality of the middle men, the bureaucrats. The party leadership had clearly instructed the party workers to do exactly what they had done. However, there was some amelioration of the collectivization program.

The second Five-Year Plan was gotten under way in 1933. The concentration continued to be on the development of heavy industry. There was, however, at the outset a somewhat greater production of consumer goods. Shortly, however, with the threat of Germany to the west and of Japan to the east, the consumer goods were once again sacrificed, this time to the development of the armaments industry and the production of arms. There was somewhat better order in the second plan, but there was still considerable inefficiency and confusion. In 1935, a development of considerable interest was that of Stakhanovism. Stakhanovism takes its name from a miner in the Don basin by the name of Alexi Stakhanov. Stakhanov discovered that by rationalizing the performance of his mining crew he could achieve substantially greater production of coal than could the other crews in his mine. The director of the mine took a fairly dark view of this, realizing that mass production was achieved not by individual, sporadic high level performance, but by a smoothly coordinated process of production. The party, however, found in Stakhanov what they had been looking for and from Stakhanovism there developed a great speed-up program, one of the

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devices most hated by truly free labor. Stakhanov was made a Hero of Socialist Labor and was paraded about the country to exhort workers in various lines of endeavor to speed up their production by processes of nationalization. Under this program a worker who could give an outstanding performance was amply rewarded under a progressive rate system; but the worker who was a little old, or a little sick, or a little weak, and who fell behind the daily normal of production would see his wages fall rapidly to the point where he could starve to death. In various forms, Stakhanovism continues in existence in the Soviet Union today.

In the third Five-Year Plan, which was under way in 1938, the overwhelming concentration was on the production of armaments as the Soviet Union raced to prepare for war again at great sacrifice to the consumer economy. The third plan was cut short in June of 1941 by the German invasion.

### Five-Year Plans

#### 1928 - First Five-Year Plan

- (1) Stalin decided to spend 20 billion dollars to speed up Russian industry -  
electric power  
mineral output  
new factories  
tractors, cars, railway equipment, planes, etc.
- (2) Coordination - Each factory to be given a quota.
- (3) Workers very enthusiastic - hoped to achieve all this in 4 years.
- (4) Goal of Russian industry - 133% increase in 5 years.
- (5) Engineers and technicians hired from England, Germany. U.S. to supervise and train.
- (6) A State planning commission kept the records. Investigated quotas - especially those who failed.
- (7) Communist leaders boasted how superior this was to capitalism.
- (8) A progressive socialization of agriculture - creation of "State farms".

"In each rural community the more energetic and farsighted farmers had prospered, increasing their acreage, hiring helpers, and emerging as men of property, so that ten years after the great estates of the nobles had been confiscated, a new class of landowners was in process of formation. Against these well-to-do peasants of KULAKS, the Government opened a campaign of intimidation and suppression; collected their harvest - by 1940, less than 5% of the harvest was listed as raised on private farms.

State farms were organized

Workers live in model villages

Have their own newspaper, movie hall, library, hospital, recreation.

But no independence.

First 5-year plan officially terminated December 31, 1932.

Results - encouraging, but no consumer's goods.

Second Five-Year Plan

- (1) Planned for complete socialization of agriculture by 1937.
- (2) 50-200% increase in crops.
- (3) Double the output of basic industries
- (4) 6-fold increase in electric power.
- (5) 6-hour working day.
- (6) More consumers goods.

2nd 5-year plan - 1933-1937

3rd 5-year plan - 1938-1941

4th 5-year plan - 1945-1950

5th 5-year plan - 1952-

Official birthdate of the Red Army - February 23, 1918.

Established on that day as a "volunteer" force by a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars.

Lenin wanted this new army to be "class-conscious" - working class.

Compulsory recruitment began June 29 - ages 18 to 40. By the end of 1918 the Red Army numbered 300,000 men. Of the officers, 20,000 were of the old Army.

To watch these, Commissars as "guardians of the revolution" were assigned. Planning of military operations continued with the commanders, but all orders had to be countersigned by the respective commissar. This duality of command was bad. The political commissars were hated - and the use of them was abolished in November 1942.

**Demobilization after 1921**

- 1921 - Reduced from 5,300,000 to 1,400,000
- 1922 - Further reduced to 800,000
- 1923 - Reduced down to 612,000

**Difficulty in formulating a comprehensive military policy.**

- (1) A large standing army
- or
- (2) A citizen army of territorial militia
- (3) Decided to compromise

**Standing army reduced to 562,000 men**

Field Strength 29 Inf. Divs.  
12 Cav. Divs.

Enlistment	Basic arms - 2 years
	Aviation - 3 years
	Coastal defense
	Frontier guard
	Navy - 4 years

**Territorial Militia**

850,000 men  
41 Inf. Divs.  
4½ Cav. Divs.

Small permanent cadres subject to the same enlistment terms as the regular army. Alternating contingents of men serving a total of from 6 to 11 months over a period of five years.

**Reserves**

- (1) Two types
- (2) First - age limit 35
- (3) Second - age limit 40

**Training**

- (1) After 1924 - command courses for commanders.
- (2) New military schools - 3-4 years curricula.
- (3) Different schools for branches of service.
- (4) Rigorous discipline
- (5) Majority of "old army" officers mastered out. However, 4,000 remained in high staff and command positions.

Greatest weakness - Red Army — Lack of modern technique and equipment.

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Soviet strategy and tactics rejected definitely the idea of the supremacy of the defense.

Visualized future war as a war of movement and maneuver, with possible periods of stabilized positional warfare in certain sectors.

5-year plan of 1928 began to supply the tanks and planes necessary. "By 1934 the Red Army's mechanized forces and aviation were qualitatively equal to any in Western Europe". Army now ready for numerical expansion.

- (1) March 1934 - Army and Navy reorganized into the Commissariat of Defense with sweeping powers over the armed forces.
- (2) 1938 - A Supreme Military Council set up, headed by Stalin.
- (3) Standing army raised to 940,000 men in 1934.
- (4) In 1935 - raised to 1,300,000.

**Expenditures for Red Army.**

1924 - 395,000,000 rubles  
1934 - 5,000,000,000  
1936 - 34,000,000,000  
1939 - 34,000,000,000

A voluntary military organization for defense training numbered 12,000,000 by 1939.

**1939 - (March)**

- (1) Raised reserve status to 50
- (2) Army numbered 2,000,000
- (3) Tank forces had increased by 108% since 1930. Aviation by 130%.
- (4) Artillery arm, the most powerful in Europe.
- (5) Divisional artillery - All rifle divisions (of the triangular type) were increased from 13,000 to 18,000 men!

As a result of battle test

1938-1939 in border war with Japan  
1939-1940 Finnish war

Marshal Semyon K. Timoshenko — began drastic changes in training methods — May 1940.

- (1) Improvement of tactical leadership of platoons, companies, battalions
- (2) Eradication of routine training methods.
- (3) Large scale maneuvers abandoned.
- (4) Tactical field exercises — no longer than a division at a time.
- (5) Re-create the realities of the modern battlefield.
- (6) Separate training of different arms was abolished, since teamwork and flexible cooperation of all arms were considered the foundation of modern tactics, with infantry and artillery recognized as the mainstay of the battle team.

SECRET

- (7) Night combat
- (8) Prolonged operations in extreme cold.
- (9) Troops toughened by intensified physical training and long marches over difficult terrain.

### Constitution of 1936

In 1936 a new constitution was approved in the Soviet Union, the Stalin Constitution, or the Constitution of Victorious Socialism, as it was called. It was held that the enactment of this Constitution to replace the earlier one of 1923 marked the arrival of a classless society in the USSR and the substantial realization of socialism. In reality, the society into which this constitution was born had a gradation into classes reasonably unique in western history. Suffice it to say for the moment that while there were many features in this constitution which on paper appeared to be highly democratic, there were others which were highly undemocratic, and when the constitution had gone into effect, it rapidly became apparent that the Soviet Union remained as much a totalitarian state as it had been before. The forms had been changed; the reality continued.

We will now consider briefly the great purges of the 1930's, the purges which finally enabled Stalin to eliminate all possible opposition within party, government and armed forces. It all started on December 1, 1934, when Serge Kirov, party boss in Leningrad and a personal friend of Stalin, was assassinated by a former member of the Komsomol, the Young Communists League of the USSR. Stalin went immediately to Leningrad and personally interrogated the assassin. The young man denied any accomplices, but Stalin had just the excuse that he needed. There followed a reign of terror in which, once again, thousands were rounded up, including many top party leaders. The accused were examined for two years. The first great trial took place in August 1936, with Kamenev, Zinoviev, and eleven other leaders in the dock. They were tried before the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. They were charged with the murder of Kirov, a plot to assassinate Stalin and other Soviet leaders, the overthrow of the Government and the destruction of the Five-year Plan, and the promise of the return of the Ukraine to Germany in return for German support of the new government.

Most of the accused were found guilty, and several were executed, including Kamenev and Zinoviev. Thus, the end of Stalin's two former cohorts in the triumvirate that succeeded Lenin.

In January 1937, there occurred the trial of the 17, including Karl Radek, Piatakov, and Sokolnikov. The charges against them were that they plotted to overthrow the government and that they had maintained contact with Germany, Poland, and Japan. Most of the accused were executed. Karl Radek was sentenced to 10 years and has never been heard from since.

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In June 1937, 7 of the top generals in the Army including the Chief of Staff, Marshal Tukhachevsky, were tried by secret court-martial and all of them executed. In March 1938, there occurred the trial of the so-called "bloc" of Rightists and Trotskyites. There were 21 accused, including Bukharin, Rykov, and Yagoda. Yagoda was the former Chief of the GPU and had been responsible for some of the earlier purge trials. Now his turn came. Most of the accused were executed, including Bukharin, Rykov, and Yagoda. No friend, no cohort, no acquaintance of any of the accused was safe. Anyone who had had contact with the accused was contaminated in the Party's eyes.

The purge ran the gamut of the party, the government, and the armed forces from top to bottom. The total accused, tried and sentenced ran into the many, many thousands. The sentence of death against Leon Trotsky was not carried out until 1940. At that time, Trotsky was living on the outskirts of Mexico City. A man known as Jacques Monard appeared on the scene, claiming to be a loyal follower of Trotsky's Fourth International. Eventually Nadia Trotsky introduced Monard to her husband and within a few minutes, Monard had struck Trotsky with a pickaxe. It became clear that Monard was acting as an agent of the NKVD, but it has never been possible conclusively to prove this. Monard is currently serving a long prison term in the Mexican penitentiary, where he has a nicely furnished suite of cells and is provided for by "some unknown source".

VI. The GPU Since The Death of Stalin

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